RRR
ROTHBARD-ROCKWELL REPORT
MARCH 1993 VOLUME IV, NUMBER 3

In Search of Al Gore's Heckscher

by Murray N. Rothbard

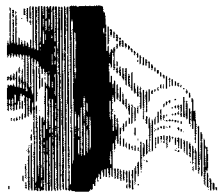
While Bill Buckley has been engaged in his seemingly endless search for anti-Semitism, I have been engaged in a similarly fruitless quest: I have been trying to find out precisely *why* Albert Gore seems to be identical with Jewry. Let me put it this way: in their sprightly and famous article in the New York *Sunday Times Magazine* (Jan. 17), Michael Kelly and Maureen Dowd, in writing of the recent strains in the Clinton-Gore relationship, talk about what a great advantage Gore had been to Clinton during the campaign. Gore was a straight arrow, with no hanky-panky on the side (Okay); he was a channel to environmentalists (sure, since he had written a rabidly environmentalist book), and also he was a channel to Jewish groups.

Here is where I get confused. Kelly and Dowd explain about the environmental part; but how can they pass on, as if it were self-evident, about Gore and Jews? What's going on here? Am I missing out on some code book that everyone else has? Is Big Al Jewish? I have never seen any indications of such. (He surely doesn't *look* Jewish.)

As I pointed out in the September 1992 *RRR* ("Working Our Way Back to the President," p. 4), a previous New York *Times* article had noted that Jews would vote enthusiastically for Clinton (as indeed they did), because, since he had picked Al Gore as Veep candidate, Clinton had received "the heckscher" (Yiddish for imprimatur) from Al Gore. Well, that's clear enough. But that brings us back to Square One. How did *Gore* get the Heckscher? and then we are no better off than before. What *is* it about Al Gore that gave him the lifelong power to confer heckschers, to convey the Jewish vote? In addition to attending Baptist services, is there some basement room where Al Gore secretly kisses the menorah?

In my quest, I asked a friend of mine, steeped in political lore. He said, "Maybe it's because Gore kisses up to Israel." But the problem with that is all other Democratic politicians, and most Republican ones, do the same. So what makes Gore

(Cont. page 3, col. 1)



THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

There is a lot of sneering going on in the U.S. about the various ethnic groups in the Balkans, and how they are "obsessed by history" and refuse to get on with the present and future. But here we have the alleged "libertarian" and devotee of "reason" Virginia Postrel, the whiny editor of *Reason* magazine. After denouncing Pat Buchanan in *Reason*, various letter-writers complained that she had overlooked Pat's many libertarian stands. Ginny replied that, while she recognizes that politics is a matter of picking the

(Cont. next page, col. 1)

INSIDE

But What About the Hungarians?, by Murray N.Rothbard 3
Coping With the Inaugural, by M.N.R. 4
Rating Senate Republicans 7
"Doing God's Work" in Somalia, by M.N.R. 8
Post-Election: LP Disintegrates, by Joe Melton 14
John Silber: Doing Well Doing Neocon Good, by M.N.R. 18
Race and Reality, by Samuel Francis 19
Unions Are Back, by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr. 24
Quotes That Need No Comment 25
Kingonomics, by L.H.R., Jr. 25
P.C Watch, by L.H.R., Jr. 26

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(THE EAR cont. from pg. 1)
best alternative rather than seeking perfection, any of Pat's good stands are negated by his fundamental "vision." And the terrible thing about Pat's vision is that he has proclaimed his sympathy with the Confederate cause in the Civil War. And even though Ginny notes Pat's view that the basic cause of the war was not slavery, but the South's adherence to decentralization and state's rights, she quickly ignores Pat's own statement to conclude that: slavery is an absolute evil, and that therefore no slavery advocate can be supported.

Huh?

It seems to me fundamental that the *winners* of a war, at least, should be gracious to the losers. Isn't it enough for the North to crush, trample, and cripple the South for decades, and to build upon the bleeding South a mighty State machine with power centralized in Washington? Isn't it enough to do that without still denouncing Southerners a century-and-a-half later? And making your stand on the Civil War the crucial political issue at the end of the twentieth century? And what kind of "libertarian" is in favor of such a genocidal war, anyway?

If Pat Buchanan should ever call for the restoration of slavery, then the Postrels of this world can start griping But not before.

* * * * *

Solutions: Why don't Salman Rushdie and Dr. Kevorkian bump each other off, in a mutual suicide pact?

Why don't Salman Rushdie and Dr. Kevorkian bump each other off?

Why doesn't Clinton give up his generational revolution, and appoint, for Attorney-General, someone, male or female, comfortably over 60, who couldn't be expected to *remember* about who he or she hired for child care or what they paid?

* * * * *

Wouldn't you know? Paul Starr, Princeton sociologist who wrote a vicious, Marxist history of American medicine, is now on leave from Princeton. The nation, apparently, needs him more. For Paul is a member of President Hillary's "Task Force on National Health Care Reform."

* * * * *

And speaking of leftists and the nation's health, Queen Bee leftist, Gnostic gnome Donna Shalala, Secretary of Health, has chosen two longtime left-wing Democrats from New York's notorious West Side to be her special assistants: Sarah Kovner, and Patricia Fleming, ten-year aide to the late Rep. Ted Weiss, the most left wing member of Congress. After her appointment, La Fleming gushed: "After years of trying to push people to do the right thing about the AIDS epidemic, it's a joy to be here working for Secretary Shalala, who will make big policy changes." Where is Dr. Kevorkian, now that we need him?

* * * * *

Letter from an old friend: "I regret to say that Madame President and her Prince Consort have exhausted my patience." Impeach Billary!

* * * * *

Midge Decter recently called technology a "gift from God." Without technology, she said, 100 years ago or even 50, as the grandmother of ten, she would have looked like "an old crone." ■

"I Can't Find the Morning's Pulse"

by Angie Mayalou

A rock, a river, a tree,
A sock, my liver, me.

Dinosaur, mastodon, gay,
African, rabbi, hooray.

Dry tokens, long ago;
Quota poet, what a show!

The horizon leans forward.
Kill the landlord.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(In Search of. . .cont. from P.1)
different from all other politicians? In my Sept. 1992 article, I mentioned a possible clue: Nat Hentoff, a soft Zionist, called Al Gore during the 1988 campaign, "the Senator from Likud." But that's still much too vague and broad a brush.

Well, I haven't found the answer yet, but some crucial hints for the discerning come in an amusing article in the *Washington Post.* (Lloyd Grove, "Hail to the Veep" (Jan. 20)). It seems that the powerful left neo-con Marty Peretz, publisher of the *New Republic,* threw a gala inaugural party for Al Gore, announcing on the invitation a "fanfare in honor of Al and Tipper Gore." Peretz, whose magazine had featured an impudent "Clinton Suck-Up Watch." NR's editors, who pride themselves on their alleged diversity, feistiness, volubility, and independence, grew oddly taciturn when quizzed about the strange romance of NR with Gore. "I won't talk to you", said Mike Kinsley; "I didn't come here to be put on the spot," said Mickey Kaus; "I think I'll dodge this one," said the usually intrepid Jacob Weisberg. And indeed, it turns out that Peretz, who hung out on Gore's campaign plane and banned publication of virtually any criticism of Gore in the pages of the *New Republic,* has been a good buddy of Gore's ever since the mid-sixties, when Peretz was an instructor at Harvard and Gore was his favorite student.

OK, so what do we know? We know that Marty Peretz, who made the smart career move of marrying an heiress, is a former Vietnam peacenik from Boston who later abandoned the peace cause for fear that American non-intervention might spell lack of total U.S. support for Israel. We know that, ever since he purchased the *New Republic,* the one *motif* underlying the allegedly vast spectrum of ideological diversity in the magazine (all the way from left neo-con to center neo-con) is total, all-out support for the State of Israel.

So where are we? Surely not very far, if we have to conclude that Marty Peretz equals, is identical with, all of American Jewry: Or is this somehow the key? In our continuing quest, we welcome any clues from our readers. ■

But What About The Hungarians?

by M.N.R.

Since the collapse of the despotic centralizing USSR, we all know that nationality after once-submerged nationality has arisen to seek, and often achieve, ethnic justice at long last. *RRR* has been in the forefront of the clamor for ethnic justice and self-government, from the Slovenes to the Abkhazians, from the Chechens to the Croats. We have tried to track all of them, and to sort out their often tangled conflicts. Generally, they have done pretty well; even the most despised and oppressed of all, the Germans, have achieved the unity of West and what was falsely called "East" Germany (actually, it was *Middle* Germany, and there are the lost lands to the *real* East, but that's another and sadder story). But in all this reaching for a place in the sun, one oppressed and despised ethnic group remains immobile, and no one seems to care: I speak of that marvelous and ancient people, the Hungarians. No banners wave for the restoration of justice to the Hungarians; undoubtedly, achievement of such justice would be inconvenient to the New World Order, an order that is grounded squarely on the "territorial integrity" of borders as they existed before 1989 or 1991; but heck, the Croats and Slovenes happily got away with such breaches in "territorial integrity," and there is no reason why the Hungarians cannot do the same.

Just as Germany was shattered and torn apart by the monstrous Treaty of Versailles in 1919, so Hungary, also burdened with phony "war guilt" for World War I by the victorious and vengeful Entente powers (Britain & France), was carved up by the equally monstrous and corollary Treaty of Trianon the following year. In rewriting the map of Europe after World War I, the Wilsonian slogan of "national self-determination" for each ethnic group was used like the Orwellian slogan in *Animal Farm*: ethnic groups discovered that some were more equal than others; some ethnic groups were set by the post-war order to rule over others. Poor Hungary was shorn of fully one-third of their ethnic and linguistic brethren. And, after all the vicissitudes of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

next seventy years, this situation *still* obtains. Hungary now is Hungary after Trianon; several hundred thousand Hungarians groan under Slovak (instead of Czech) tyranny in southern Slovakia; and the Hungarians who people the northern Vojvodina are now suffering under direct Serb rule, after previously enjoying semi-autonomous status. And most grievous of all is the status of legendary Transylvania, the land of Dracula and other classic vampires. Transylvania was torn from the Hungarian bosom at Trianon and given to "pro-Western" Romania, and Stalin put it back the same way after World War II.

Is Transylvania ethnically Hungarian or Romanian? Both nationalities are in this land, and it is obviously a matter of much dispute. The distinguished historian Bela Kiraly, a top general in Hungary who escaped to the West after the heroic and failed Revolution of 1956, told me, when I asked him about ethnic boundaries in Transylvania: "I hate to say this, but Hitler's imposed boundary was probably about the best solution." The point is that, during World War II, both Hungary and Romania had right-wing governments friendly to Germany, so that Hitler could afford to be "objective" and concentrate on ethnic justice between the two. Hitler granted northern Transylvania to Hungary, and southern to Romania. Friends of mine claim, however, that this short-changed Hungary which should have obtained either the northern two-thirds, or even all, of Transylvania.

And then there is the neglected problem of Carpatho-Ruthenia, the eastern tail grabbed from Hungary by the Czechs after World War I. After World War II, this land was incorporated into the western Ukraine, Ukraine claiming that these were long-lost Ukrainians. I understand that the Ruthenians are beginning to make noises about independence, of wanting out of the Ukraine. In any case, it seems that Hungarian ethnic claims to this small area are fairly weak.

But, in any case, why is nothing more said and done about Restoring Hungary? Hungary's territory should definitely be expanded to include: southern Slovakia, the northern Vojvodina in Serbia, and something like two-thirds of Transylvania. Hungarians arise!

Of course, there *are* nationalist stirrings in Hungary; technically these are *irredentist*, dedicated to redeeming unredeemed lands lost to an ethnic nationality. The great playwright Istvan Czurka, leader of a nationalist faction of the ruling party in Hungary, is calling for such a movement. More militantly, agitation is led by the "1956 Anti-Fascist and Anti-Bolshevik Association", headed by the artist Istvan Porubszky, who had fled to Canada after 1956. The 1956 Association is also organizing teen-age youth, called the National Conservative-Thinking Boys, who listen to lectures on Hungarian history, celebrate statues of the *turul*, a mythological eagle-like bird that symbolizes Hungarian unity, and shout "Down with Trianon!"

Only one guess how these groups and this agitation is regarded by the "pro-Western" (i.e. Social Democrat) Hungarian establishment, plus the Social Democrats of the *New York Times* and the rest of the U.S. received opinion. Like all Social Democrats, who hate and revile all nationalisms except that of the U.S. and Israel, these groups fear and loathe these nationalists, the youth being denounced as "skinheads" simply because the teen-age lads like to wear their hair crew-cut.

It's clear that Hungarians will never achieve their true place in the sun so long as their rulers are more interested in currying favor with the United States government than they are in justice for themselves.

(Once again, I take the opportunity to declare that I am not a descendant of, related to, or connected in any way, with any of the ethnic groups I have celebrated in *RRR*. Except in spirit, I am not Hungarian nor a Croat nor an Abkhazian.) ■

Coping With the Inaugural

by M.N.R.

It was an Inaugural from Hell. The big issue that faced me, now that our Jacobin Festival has burgeoned from Inaugural Day to Inaugural Eve to Inaugural Week, was how to stay sane during this living nightmare. As a political junkie, I couldn't stop reading the papers altogether, but I could skim through my five daily papers, keeping a keen eye out for the lone gripe, the dissenter amidst

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this veritable avalanche of pap. But as for TV, I had to forswear it altogether, punctuated by a quick daily foray into the half-hour of Limbaugh sanity amidst the hoopla.

Generally, I kept my TV resolve, but a couple of times, forgetting myself for the moment, idly seeking a sports score, the horror struck:

Bam! TV anchorman, standing outside the festivities: "Last week (before the inaugural), the magic seemed to go out of the Clinton story (because of the various criticisms that had piled up during the week). But now," the anchorguy's face lights up, "the jets are flying overhead, and the magic is back!"

Bam! Simpering Katie Couric, a huge emerald around her neck, oohing into the camera; "Ooohh! Pres-i-dent Clint-on has gone over to talk to his mother! Isn't that wonderful?" Byeccchhh! Where Oh where was the death's head at the feast?

They all gathered at the Potomac, this nightmare vision of America, the whole cruddy coalition, from the Lawn-Chair parade to the Gay and Lesbian Band to the millionaire Hollywood Leftists to the rap groups.

The line in my summer *L.A. Times* article for Bush over Clinton that really drew the hate mail was my saying that at least Bush would "hold back the hordes" for four more years. "Who are those hordes, Mr. Rothbard?" my critics chorused. Well, there they all were, the tens of thousands that poured in ecstasy into Washington, for *their* Inaugural. They all said much the same thing: "Whoopee, now it's *our* turn."

Two of them, these hordelings, put it almost identically: two of my least favorite people in the world: Barbra Streisand and Betty Friedan. Two clones: Betty is shorter, older, and uglier than Barbra, but not by a heck of a lot. (Sign of either a flagrant liar or someone with hopelessly debased tastes, the guy who says thoughtfully: "You know, she (La Streisand) is *really* beautiful.") Betty may be shorter and uglier, but at least she doesn't assault our eardrums with alleged "singing."

Barbra, overjoyed at the Inaugural: "*We* did it; we're responsible for this, we the people of color, the Jews, the women." Barbra's joy, however, was momentarily dampened when the adoring anchorguy introduced her as "Miss Barbra STRY-zend." "No, no, it's STRY-SAND," Barbra snapped irritably.

"We did it; we the people of color, the Jews, the women."

As befits a theoretician rather than an "entertainer," Betty was a bit more formal, more non-U, in her summation: "I had this indescribable thrill at the speech and the whole thing. I feel it's *our* inauguration—all the people I've been on the barricades with from 1966 on—all the barricades, liberal, peace, new democracy, feminists, even the Jewish."

And then of course there was the generation thing, Diane English: "I would have come all the way from Timbuktu if I had to. It was a wonderful exciting moment for my generation."

And what of those of us of another generation, those of us on the other side of all these barricades, those of us who never *had* "our turn"? Clinton likes to compare himself to Jack Kennedy, that previous revolt of the youth. But miGod, this ocean of crud made one long for Kennedy, for Jackie, for Camelot, yes, even for the thought of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., being playfully tossed into the White House pool.

But the key of course was ideology not generation, and Lauren ("Betty") Bacall demonstrated that you didn't have to be a young fool to be a fool. Bacall gushed about how Al Gore, whom she introduced at the Inaugural, offered her his coat to protect from the cold. Chivalry! But isn't that profoundly "sexist?" And then Hillary Herself reached out a gloved hand to draw Betty into the singing of the collectivist hooey of "We Are the World."

Want more of the rebarbative horror? There was Belgian jetsetter Diane Von Furstenburg:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"I'm a Clinton groupie," she burbled, and she planned to become an American citizen because of Clinton. Why? "I was so frustrated that I couldn't vote for him." Aww, poor thing! Actor Ed Begley, Jr., weighed in with this esthetic pronouncement; "The great thing about being here is learning we have a president who can clap on the counts of two and four, he can hit the downbeat. There is hope for this country!" Not while there are people like Begley making such profound observations.

Such events would not be complete without sage statements from the professoriat. There was Avery Andrews, history professor at George Washington University, after getting a glimpse of Clinton on the inaugural walk: "I could see him clearly," said the professor. "He looked bigger than life. He was looking out the window, waving." OOOhh, gee. See Clinton and die, professor; what more in life could you possibly achieve?

The best comment on the Inaugural was the immortal line from Monty Woolley in *The Man Who Came to Dinner*: "Are we to be spared nothing?" The answer, of course, was no, for the *piece de resistance* was the Poem, the drivel emitted by the monster Maya Angelou, she of the phony Brit accent. So beloved was this tripe, this dimwit paean to the multicultural, that even *USA Today*, the master of the condensation, the paper that would even condense Jesus's speech at the Second Coming, actually reprinted this junk *in full*. The Rock, The River, The Tree, the Jew, the Sioux, the Cherokee, well you get the idea.

The Pome reminded me strongly of the Commie Ballad for Americans, put out during the Communism-is-Twentieth-Century-Americanism period of World War II, sung by Paul Robeson in his most portentous and stentorian tones. The Ballad celebrated every conceivable occupation and group: the worker, the farmer, the teacher, the sailor, etc., all groups but one that was carefully omitted: the businessman. The difference between the Reds of that more innocent era and of today is that workers and blacks were about the only two Oppressed Groups they needed to include. But now, of course, Maya had to list dozens: the Jew, the Sioux, etc., all except, as Mona Charen pointed out, the British who actually founded America and gave it its ideals and institutions. Where were the Brits?

The *piece de resistance* was the Pome, the drivel emitted by the monster Maya Angelou.

And that cretinous "Good morning" with which Maya ended the pome! When Ronald Reagan talked of "morning in America," he was ridiculed by the sophisticates, but compared to Maya, Ronnie was a veritable bard. But worse than Maya were her legion of groupies. The usually plonky black columnist Barbara Reynolds waxed rhapsodic: about the "uplifted spirit," the "outstretched hand." Reynolds' citations about "looking like America" were oddly one-sided: Ray Charles, Whoopi Goldberg, and Marilyn Horne. But the toperoo for her, of course, was Maya: "her dignity, her scholarship (sic) her sharing of life" blah blah. And she wound up, burbling about an America where we "can face daylight and, in the 'poet' Angelou's words, say, 'Good morning.'"

But Miss Reynolds was topped by Neil Simon, who virtually swooned with delight. Maya Angelou's poem, said Simon, "just swept me away." "That last line—'Good morning'—I could hardly contain myself."

Yecchh! How can we go on? And it was all topped by black actress Cicely Tyson, who I guess summed up the Clintonian reaction to The Pome: "God speaks, and will continue to speak, through Dr. Maya Angelou." Well, that settles *that*. But what is this "Doctor" nonsense? Isn't "Doctor King" enough.

The only line I could think of worthy enough to counter this chorus of "Good Mornings" was the great line from Bela Lugosi's *Dracula*: "Good-BYE!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Look as I might, I could find only two bits of surcease in this ocean of Inaugural swill. One was Bob Dole's statement a bit before. Dole was marvelously prophetic even though of course he had to retract and apologize almost immediately: "Bill Clinton's honeymoon will be as short as that of the Bride of Lammermoor (who of course killed her husband on their wedding night)."

The other refreshing note was the response to the Inaugural festivities by humorist Fran Lebowitz. Even though Miss Lebowitz is a left-liberal, and voted for Clinton, the great thing about her is that she embodies the spirit of the true New Yorker: the man or woman who works at night, rarely sees the day, NEVER "works out," and hates cant, pretension, and New Age psychobabble with every fibre of his or her being. Miss Lebowitz pronounced herself, in an interview in the *New York Times* (Jan. 19), "out of my mind, on a new planet of fury," as she sat watching the inaugural on TV in her Manhattan apartment, watching what she called the televised "Hopi/Cherokee/Hispanic/African-American/college student festival of ring-a-ding-ding-a-long." Miss Lebowitz perceptively dubbed the entire gang "the religious left." And while the ditzy Lauren Bacall was so "thrilled by the generosity" of Al Gore and Hillary that she now has "a sense of hope," and has decided to stay in the U.S. instead of emigrating to Europe (lucky us!), Miss Lebowitz's reaction was very different. She commented: "If you're switching back and forth between the inaugural and the (Iraq) war, you think, where would you rather be less? And find yourself thinking, well, it's not that bad in Baghdad. They didn't hit the targets."

As we slog our way through the horror of the inaugural, the Big Question keeps popping up: "Is it too late? Are the American people too debased to bounce back? Or will there be a mighty

Rating Senate Republicans: Family Leave

The Family Leave Bill was the first important measure of the Clinton Congress, unfortunately passing in the Senate by 71 to 27, in the House by 265 to 163. (Feb. 4). The law forces employers of 50 or more to give up to 12 weeks of leave in any 12-month period for birth of a child, or to care for an ill family member, or for sick leave. The worker can be on the job for as little as one year to collect this benefit. When the worker returns, the employer has to give him or her back the job. This coerced leave is "unpaid," except that the employer has to continue health care benefits as if the person is still working.

A costly imposition on business, which will cut production, raise prices, and create unemployment. And think of all the 50-employee firms that will quickly fire one worker to get under the limit!

Giving up the Democrat party as hopeless, this RRR rates Republicans in the Senate on their votes, a "—" for a Yes vote, a "+" of a No vote, a "0" for non-voting. Yes, 16. No, 25.

Alaska		**Kentucky**		**Oregon**	
Murkowski	—	McConnell	+	Hatfield	—
Stevens	—			Packwood	—
		Maine			
Arizona		Cohen	—	**Pennsylvania**	
McCain	—			Specter	—
		Minnesota			
Colorado		Durenberger	—	**Rhode Island**	
Brown	+			Chafee	—
		Mississippi			
Delaware		Cochran	+	**South Carolina**	
Roth	—	Lott	+	Thurmond	0
Florida		**Missouri**		**South Dakota**	
Mack	+	Bond	—	Pressler	+
		Danforth	—		
Georgia				**Texas**	
Coverdell	+	**Montana**		Gramm	+
		Burns	—		
Idaho				**Utah**	
Craig	+	**New Hampshire**		Bennett	+
Kempthorne	+	Gregg	+	Hatch	+
		Smith	+		
Indiana				**Vermont**	
Coats	—	**New Mexico**		Jeffords	—
Lugar	+	Domenici	+		
				Virginia	
Iowa		**North Carolina**		Warner	+
Grassley	+	Faircloth	+		
		Helms	+	**Washington**	
Kansas				Gorton	+
Dole	+	**Oklahoma**			
Kassebaum	+	Nickles	+	**Wyoming**	
				Simpson	+
				Wallop	0

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

backlash, as the American masses-sound at the core—storm their way back to sanity and health?" The returns are not yet in, but I am enough of an optimist to believe that Goodness, Truth, Beauty, and Justice will eventually triumph. ■

"Doing God's Work" in Somalia

by M. N. R.

"And so to every sailor, soldier, airman, and marine who is involved in this mission, let me say you're doing God's work."

—President George Bush
December 1992

In his scintillating article on the Somalian incursion, *Harper's* editor Lewis Lapham, one of the few left-liberals who remains staunchly anti-foreign intervention, quotes the above words from our recent President. (Lewis H. Lapham, "God's Gunboats", *Harper's Magazine*, February). Lapham notes that Bush issued his "prelate's benediction" to the troops even though lacking "both the miter and the shepherd's staff." He also notes—in a timely reminder to those conservatives who have not yet re-examined their devotion to the preceding President—that on that very same December day Ronnie Reagan, speaking at Oxford University, urged the United Nations to develop "an army of conscience" to confront the "evil (that) still stalks the planet" even after the death of the Soviet Union. Since it is difficult to imagine evil stamped out from the world very quickly, this presumably implies a permanent standing world army to vanquish and keep down evil and sin in whatever quarter of the globe they might raise their ugly heads. In short, a permanent global Crusade.

The *real* evil—this crusading spirit itself—first swept over America in the late 1820s in the form of what is technically called "post-millennial pietism" (PMP). In the dominant "evangelical" form that PMP assumed in the "Yankee" communities of the North (New Englanders and their transplanted kin in upstate New York, northern Ohio, northern Indiana, etc), this meant that every man had the bounden and overriding duty to maximize the salvation of his fellow-men, by stamping out sin and the temptations thereto. In short, he was bound to work his darndest to establish a Christian Commonwealth, a Kingdom of God on Earth. It very quickly became clear that sin was not going to be stamped out very quickly by purely voluntary means, and so the PMPers rapidly turned to Government to do the stamping out and the creating and the uplifting. In short, as one historian perceptively put it, for the PMPers, "government became God's major instrument of salvation."

Bush issued his "prelate's benediction" to the troops.

This turn to government was facilitated by the "pietist" part of the PMP doctrine, for this meant that the old Puritan emphasis on creed and God's Law, much less the Catholic or Lutheran emphasis on liturgy or the sacramental Church, was swept aside. Christianity became totally focussed in a vaguely pietist, "born again," mood on the part of each basically creedless and Church-less individual soul. Shorn of Church or creed, the individual PMPer was necessarily forced to lean upon government as his staff and shield.

Slowly but surely over the decades since 1830, this mainstream Yankee Protestantism became secularized into an only vaguely Christian but passionately held Social Gospel. After all, with this sort of mindset, it was easy for God to gradually drop from sight, and for government to assume a quasi-divine role. It was left to the monster Woodrow Wilson, a PMPer to his very bones and a Ph.D. as well, to take this domestic creed and extend it to foreign policy. It was essentially a "today the U.S., tomorrow the world" credo. Once the PMPers took over the U.S. government and imposed a Kingdom of God at home, their religious duty got raised

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the planetary level. As the historian James Timberlake put it, once the Kingdom of God was being established in the United States, it became "America's mission to spread these ideals and institutions abroad so that the Kingdom could be established throughout the world. American Protestants were accordingly not content merely to work for the kingdom of God in America, but felt compelled to assist in the reformation of the rest of the world." (James Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920*, New York, Atheneum, 1970, pp. 37-38).

Since Woodrow Wilson, every American president has followed faithfully in the footsteps of the Wilsonian creed. The content of the Kingdom of God to be imposed on other nations may have changed slightly (from alcohol prohibition and coerced global "democracy" in Wilson's day to smoking prohibition, free condoms, and global democracy in our own) but the form and the spirit remain all too much the same.

In the February *RRR*, we blasted the Somalian invasion and cited Isabel Paterson's perceptive and prophetic denunciation of the "Humanitarian with the Guillotine." Now, in an uncanny, unconscious echo of Paterson, Michael Maren writes a chilling and significant article in the leftist *Village Voice* ("Manna from Heaven: Somalia Pays the Price for Years of Aid", Jan. 19) about his own experiences as an American aid worker in Somalia in the early 1980s. Before that, Maren had spent four years as a leading relief worker in Kenya. From his African experience, Maren learned a crucial fact about the African polity: that the urban technocratic and bureaucratic ruling class in the African countries (generally educated in Marxism in the imperial motherland) has nothing but total contempt for the productive peasant classes off whom this ruling elite battens. To the ruling elite, which taxes, controls, and coerces the peasantry, the peasantry are scum to be "modernized"; particularly scorned are the often prosperous tribal, cattle-raising nomads, whose nomadic way of life seem to be a constant reproach to Marxoid technocrats intent on emulating Stalin and forcing their rural populace into the "twentieth century." Maren had seen thousands of the nomadic Turkana tribe starve in Kenya, largely due to the policies of the Kenyan officialdom, who would "exploit the starving (Turkanas) by offering to trade small amounts of donated relief food for the hides of their animals, the last remaining things of value the refugees owned.... Ultimately it dawned on me that the suit-wearing, tea-sipping, Europhile politicians in Nairobi didn't really give a s--t about the 'primitive' nomadic people in the north."

From alcohol prohibition to smoking prohibition and free condoms.

Maren, who shifted from Kenyan to Somalian relief in early 1981, then gives us a good, concise history of the Somalian polity. Somalia became an independent state in 1960, as the British and the Italians pulled out of their respective Somalian colonies and the two joined into one nation. From the beginning, the Somalian government was obsessed with fulfilling the promise of the five-pointed star of the new Somali flag: to incorporate a Greater Somalia uniting all five groups of ethnic Somalis. Two of those points: Italian Somaliland in the east and British Somaliland in the north, had already been achieved, but there were (and still are) three remaining: little Djibouti in the northwest, formerly French Somaliland and still a client state of France and containing 5000 French troops; northeastern Kenya, to the southwest of Somalia, which is 60 percent Somali; and the Ogaden desert, to the west of Somalia, which is called Western Somalia by the Somalis but happens to be groaning under Ethiopian tyranny.

Not much could be done about combating French imperialism in Djibouti, but the other two goals were considered achievable. Kenya attained independence a bit later than Somalia, in December 1963, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Somalia had hoped to lop off northeastern Kenya for its own (called in Kenya the Northern Frontier District (NFD)). When the Kenyan government insisted on keeping the NFD, the Kenyan Somalis, egged on by Somalia, began a long guerrilla war against Kenya, an as yet futile war that still continues, out of sight and out of mind of the United Nations.

More explosive was the Ogaden, where Somalia and Ogaden Somalis launched a guerrilla war against Ethiopia, but stood no chance against the superior American-trained Ethiopian army under the "freedom-loving, pro-Western" yet slave-holding Emperor, Haile Selassie, the Lion of Judah. In 1967, the Somalian government, led by Prime Minister Mohammed Egal, decided to succumb to reality, and to make peace with their more powerful neighbors, Egal's peace process had the merit of facing reality, but it angered the Somali military, who accused Egal of selling out Greater Somalia and betraying the five-pointed star; a military coup, led by Major General Mohammed Siad Barre, ousted Egal and established a dictatorship in October 1969.

Barre promptly threw in his lot with "scientific socialism," and he and his Supreme Revolutionary Council established an alliance with the Soviet Union, happy to welcome another "Marxist-Leninist" state and to ship arms to a useful enemy of the "pro-American" Haile Selassie. A massive Soviet arms buildup, and thousands of Soviet military advisers training the Somali army, led Ethiopians and Kenyans to become even more ardent in their "pro-American" passions.

Five years later, however, came the great sea-change in the Horn of Africa: a military coup of Marxist-Leninist army officers overthrew the Lion of Judah in 1974 and established a Marxist-Leninist military dictatorship under the junta, the Dergue, led by Col. Meriam. The Soviets embraced the new military junta, and amidst the turmoil, General Barre took advantage of the Ethiopian crisis and invaded and conquered the Ogaden in 1977. Another point in that star!

The Soviets, however, poured arms and the Cubans sent troops to aid Ethiopia, at which point Barre turned to the United States, playing down his Marxism-Leninism and undoubtedly discovering a new commitment to "freedom" and "democracy." But the Carter administration was slow in delivering aid, and the Soviet-aided Ethiopian army drove the Somalian army out of Ogaden in the spring of 1978.

Barre's popularity was plummeting in Somalia; the hero of the Ogaden had become the loser. And so Barre stepped up his dictatorship in Somalia, increasingly narrowing the ruling clique to his own Marehan tribesmen and within that to his own relatives. Impervious to any of this development, the new Reagan administration sent none other than Dr. Henry Kissinger to Mogadishu in early 1981 to assure the despot Barre of our eternal support for this "scientific socialist" dictator-all of course in the name of anti-Communism and the Cold War. As Maren puts it, "From Washington, the barren wastes of Somalia suddenly looked like downtown Berlin."

Enter Michael Maren into Somalia as a food monitor for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). Maren was in charge of tracking the relief food from Mogadishu to the Hiran desert district in the north, which contained nine refugee camps near the Ethiopian border. Maren quickly found that fully two-thirds of the U.S. food to the refugees was being stolen, most of the theft being conducted by the refugee camp commanders, Somali army officers who sold the food, or else it was just taken by the soldiers, or by the Somali-supported Ogaden guerrillas of the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF). The WSLF also systematically raided the refugee camps for able-bodied young men, whom they would conscript into their continuing guerrilla warfare against Ethiopia in the Ogaden.

What about the refugees in the nine camps? Why were they there, and were they really starving? Maren discovered the truth: in the first place, the refugees were there because they were nomads fleeing the Ogaden, where they had been caught between the Ethiopian army and WSLF. Secondly, the number of refugees was deliberately highly inflated by the Somali government, in order to sucker Americans into sending aid. Barre was claiming two million refugees when there were far less (he had originally claimed half a million.) Thus,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Maren found that one camp, Amalow, which was supposed to have 18,503 refugees, and had food allotted for that many, really had only about 3500. As a result, *far too much food* was being shipped into Somalia and into the camps by the bamboozled Americans.

Not only that: just as occurred eleven years later, the American excess of food was inspired by duplicitous journalists, "who took pictures of the sick and the hungry, and the relief agencies arrived on the scene with food. And the food was being stolen."

Moreover, Maren reveals, despite the massive theft, "no one was starving to death in the refugee camps." Oh, there was plenty of death all right, but the death was caused by disease: malaria, measles, dysentery, diphtheria, pneumonia, river blindness. But food, though not the problem, kept pouring in and being stolen.

There was more method to this madness than simply providing free American food for Barre's army and for the Ogaden guerrillas. As Maren perceptively points out, the Somalian government, like the Kenyan government, hates nomads. Even though the nomadic Somali refugees weren't starving, they were attracted to settling in the refugee camps by the promise of free food. After all, it's easier to sit in a camp and receive food for free than to have to hunt and work for it. As Maren puts it:

"Somalis are nomads who spend most of their time looking for food. If you put a pile of food in the desert they will come and get it.... The famine camps were set up and they came."

And so the American food unwittingly played into the hands of Barre and later Somali rulers: helping to build a modern socialist state by settling nomads. Maren puts the point trenchantly:

"African leaders like to settle nomads. Nomads make it hard to build a modern state, and even harder to build a socialist state. Nomads can't be taxed, they can't be drafted, and they can't be controlled. They also can't be used to attract foreign aid, unless you can get them to stay in one place.

Nomads make it hard to build a socialist state.

"In addition, many African leaders, trying hard to be modern, view nomads as an embarrassment and a nuisance. Anything 'primitive' is an embarrassment and a nuisance. From Bamko to Nairobi I've listened to Africa's elite discuss nomads as if they were vermin."

Maren then concludes about the American relief program of the early 1980s:

"So not only was the refugee relief program feeding Barre's army, it was settling his population of nomads.... And all this was happening with the assistance of energetic young foreigners who were helping to build the infrastructure for those new, refugee-populated towns, setting up clinics, drilling wells, trying to teach the former nomads how to settle down and grow food."

What had happened to the cattle of the nomad refugees? Some was lost to drought; the rest was left behind with family members. Traditionally, nomads who had lost their cattle to drought got assistance from relatives and other clan members; but now, in 1981, they had another option: free food in the refugee camps.

But, as Maren points out, the Ogaden desert is sparsely settled: one family would have eight to ten square miles of desert for grazing their camels and goats. But the refugee camps played hob with, you should excuse the expression, the nomads' eco-system. Now each family was packed into a few square yards. There is no need to learn about sanitation when you've always got ten square miles of desert to roam around in. But sanitation became a big problem in the refugee camps: hence, rampant disease and death.

After monitoring the relief situation in the Hiran district, Maren and his colleague Doug Grice, who was performing the same task in the Bardera region and near the Kenyan border, sat down and wrote reports to their bosses in the ISAID program.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The reports concluded that the relief program was killing at least as many people as it was saving, and that the net result was to ship food to Somali soldiers who added to their income by selling food, and to enable the WSLF to use the food as rations to conduct their guerrilla war in the Ogaden. Their boss rejected the report, saying: "You guys know you can't write this stuff. Stick to the facts," i.e. to the amount of food missing and stolen. And, too, keep the reports technical and boring, so that no critics of the program might figure out what's going on.

In his final report to his bosses before quitting the program, Michael Maren pointed out an economic absurdity created by the program: people in the towns wanted to know why they were not entitled to the food and health care handed out free to those refugees who had settled in the camps. A man in the town of Belet Huen—the headquarters town in the Hiran region—working for the very high salary of 800 shillings a month, could not supply his family with the amount of food the refugees in the camp received for free.

Maren concluded his report with a prophetic insight into the future: he noted that the American Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) were submitting hundreds of proposals to improve services to the refugees. But Maren warned:

"Expanded services to the refugees will only aggravate the problem by encouraging them to stay, and more refugees to arrive. It will spread more thinly the resource base leaving the door open for a real emergency situation in the future. The future for refugees in the camps holds only years of relief." Instead, Maren declared, the efforts of the international community should be to get the refugees out of the camps, not to attract more.

A study of the Somali economy at the time discovered that the relief industry constituted no less than *two-thirds* of the Somalian economy. No way that the Somali government would give that up. And now, twelve years later, the 1981 camps are still there, "the residents of those camps are still dependent on relief food and still have no way to earn a living on their own.

The food "crisis" has been deliberately created by the Somalian government.

So the question is: how could Somalia, a land that used to be self-sufficient in food, have gotten to the point where virtually everyone seems to be dependent on U.S. and other outside relief? Michael Maren was succeeded in Somalia by one Chris Cassidy, who spent seven years there with USAID, Save the Children, and the FAO. Cassidy told Maren recently:

"One of the things that got Barre and his henchmen p---d off was when you wrote reports saying that Somalia was self-sufficient in food. That was because free food is what controls the place. The mentality is, 'Why should we let people produce their own food and control their own lives when we can keep them under our thumbs and under the gun? We claim famine, flood, and refugees and get the food shipped in here for free. Now we'll tell you when to eat and when you can't eat!'"

In short, the food "crisis" has been deliberately created by the Somalian government—by Barre and his successors—in order to exert control over the Somali population, to tell them when and who shall or shall not eat. The humanitarian, said Paterson, is only happy when a country is filled with breadlines and hospitals. The humanitarian with the guillotine!

During the Reagan and Bush administrations, and until 1988, the Barre regime received the phenomenal sum of $100 million a year in military and economic aid from the United States. Finally, in May 1988, the major opposition to Barre, the Somali National Movement of the Issaq tribe in northern Somalia, seized a few towns; the Barre regime replied hysterically, bombing, shelling, and gassing their opposition, killing at least 50,000 people. The regime proceeded to search

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for, and execute, unarmed Issaqs, and the result was a civil war that raged until Barre was finally toppled in the fall of 1990. By the fall of 1989, Barre's massacres could no longer be overlooked, and the U.S. cut off its aid to his regime.

Maren's analysis of the current situation is that this is simply more of the same ills that have created the problem. The U.S. marines are handing everything over to the PVO's, the relief people, who aggravate the problem still more by pouring in more free food. And what do the PVOs get out of it? Fat government contracts, as well as fat donations by deluded humanitarians who think that these reliefers are doing good and helping to solve the problem. Journalists help the PVOs by getting their information from them and by featuring these heads of CARE, Catholic Relief Services, and World Vision on television. The press assumes "that these are humanitarian agencies whose only goal is to help people." In fact, warns Maren, "they are organizations that stand to reap huge benefits in the form of lucrative contracts to deliver food."

These are the do-good relief organizations that have only made all the problems worse: "These are the same organizations that have failed for the past 10 years in Somalia and all over Africa. (Hundreds of billions of dollars of aid in Africa over the last thirty years have left the continent more famine-prone and dependent on outside relief than ever.) They had thousands of refugees in camps in 1981 and they failed to get them out of the camps. They didn't get them their cattle back. They didn't teach them to grow food and to be independent. They just delivered food and collected grants for development projects." These relief agencies, Maren declares, *want* to fail, for "failure means a chance to try again with new grants, new film footage for fund-raising campaigns, and fresh new volunteers who haven't learned yet that aid kills."

For the real objective of these agencies, Maren has concluded, is to raise money. These outfits are essentially rackets. Even though sending food hasn't really helped, what these agencies can do best is to raise money. "Aid," Maren declares, "is a business. it is a business in which people make careers, earn a good living, get to see interesting places, and have great stories to tell when they get stateside. It's a business that has to earn money to pay its executives, pay for retreats and for officials to attend conferences in Rome, buy four-wheel drive vehicles, buy advertising time on television. It's a business that makes money by attracting clients, i.e. starving, needy people."

Maren declares that he has among his friends several dozen long-time workers for these African relief agencies. All of them "thought they could do some good while enjoying the adventure." And not one of them thinks that the years of work and millions of dollars have helped, have done more good than harm. "All of them are convinced that whatever the original intentions of an aid agency, inevitably raising money becomes the primary objective." That money consists of funds raised among the American public, but primarily from U.S. government contracts. Cooking up more projects means getting more funds, which also means expanding the relief agency. Expanding the agency means more power for the top executives, and the more money it gets the more people the agency can claim to be helping.

The crucial point, Maren concludes, is that "reckless use of food aid causes famine. It depresses local market prices and provides disincentive for farmers to grow crops." All this makes the food shortage worse, and causes greater calls for food relief; and so the well-meaning foreign intervention grows and cumulates, fueled by agency venality, and causes the spiral of famine-aid-famine to get worse and worse. Until finally the marines land to try to solve the problem. The humanitarian with the guillotine.

The only way to solve the problem, Maren declares, "is a way that may seem cruel": it is to *stop the food*—to "wean Somalia from dependence on donated food." And then, Maren states, "all of them—the marines and the relief agencies—should get out as soon as possible." All in all, Maren concludes, "in the fragile political and environmental ecosystem of Somalia it is much easier to screw things up than it is to set them straight... the longer they (the marines) stay, the worse it will get." No paleolibertarian could have put it better.

Meanwhile, some rationality

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seems to have burst into the pages of the *New York Times*, not usually a place receptive to paleolibertarian concerns. *Does Free Food Hurt*? cries a headline (Jan. 13), and it turns out that there is a "paradox" of famine relief: food charity has just about ruined the previously prosperous farm population of Somalia. For who will buy food from local farmers when they can get food free from international suckers?

The "paradox" that so confuses the *Times* correspondents is actually natural law—economic law—at work. It is a law that decrees: government intervention, out! In Somalia, or, for that matter, anywhere else. ■

Post-Election: LP Disintegrates

by Joe Melton

After going through a disastrous campaign, any political party worth its salt, any party with a smidgen of guts or brains, (a) will go through a period of soul-searching and self-criticism, trying to figure out what went wrong; and (b) see its leadership Do the Honorable Thing: fall on their swords and disappear from the scene. Two parties experienced disaster in 1992. Admittedly the Republican soul-searching process is largely an exercise in blaming the other guy, with the Bushies and neocons trying to pin the blame on Pat Buchanan, the only one with the guts to challenge a leadership doomed to defeat; and with Rich Bond, the chief loser, going out snarling against Pat and "intolerance". But at least, the losers, if not quite honorable, are leaving the scene, and at least the Republican Party realizes that *something* has got to change.

What about the Libertarian Party? How has it faced *its* disaster? Typically, in a way to make Republicans seem like honest and honorable gentlemen. The Libertarian Party has always resisted soul-searching and self-criticism like the very plague; and the losers, instead of having the grace to fade into the woodwork, have typically reached for total power over the party. Thus, after the previous disastrous LP campaign, that of Dave Bergland in 1984 and his 225,000 votes, the Bergland forces, instead of taking the blame and leaving the scene, apologized not at all and moved to try for total power. After ousting Honey Lanham as national director and driving Jim Turney out as national chairman, the Bergland forces: Dave Bergland, his wife Sharon Ayres, 1984 campaign chairman Bill Evers and *his* wife Mary Gingell, finally achieved such power at the 1989 convention in Philadelphia.

After the stunning collapse of the LP national ticket in 1992, this inglorious pattern has repeated itself, albeit more rapidly. For a week or two after the election, the electronic bulletin boards frequented by LP biggies were filled with queries about Gee, what went wrong? The general opinion conveniently put the blame on Ross Perot instead of anything connected with, or inherent in, the Libertarian Party. But any possible soul-searching about the LP or about the Marrou-Lord ticket was silenced and pre-empted by a naked drive for power in the party launched by a combine of Nancy Lord, the Veep candidate on the Marrou ticket, and Steve Givot, the bombastic and abrasive Chicago commodity speculator who in effect ran the campaign after it was seized from Marrou by the Libertarian National Committee.

The Secret Meeting

Knowing that the first LP NatCom meeting after the election would be in Las Vegas on the weekend of December 12-13, Lord and Givot invited a carefully selected handful of LP leaders to a secret conclave in Atlanta (where Lord lives) on the previous weekend. Over this weekend of December 5-6, the Atlanta clique hammered out an entirely new direction and constitution for the Party, and pledged to agree on these changes as a caucus, and to ram it through both at the NatCom meeting and at the next LP national convention, meeting in September in Salt Lake City. The Salt Lake City convention takes on more than usual importance this year, since the LP has already decided to meet in presidential years, instead of the year before. To nominate its presidential slate, in other words, it will pretend to be a real party. Hence, there will be a three year gap between the fall 1993 meeting and the next national convention in 1996, so that the direction set and the officers elected at Salt Lake will

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enjoy a specially long rule over the fortunes and activities of the Libertarian Party.

Having hammered out their proposed changes, Givot and his henchmen rammed the entire Atlanta program (which we can dub the Atlanta Charter—see below) through the National Committee, with very little discussion and mainly by voice vote. Which puts the NatCom behind the program for the forthcoming big fight in Salt Lake. National chairman Mary Gingell and her close-knit "performance team"—national secretary Joe Dehn of Colorado and Steve Alexander of California—were kept in the dark about the entire Atlanta meeting until Givot & Co. could pull off their coup.

Particularly amusing was Givot's excuse for keeping the news from Gingell.

Anyone interested in exploring the mental processes of LP officialdom will have fun poring over the electronic bulletin board printouts on this issue in the ensuing weeks. Mary Gingell repeatedly squealed like a stuck pig that the Atlanta program was "SHOVED DOWN OUR THROATS" (her capitals) at Las Vegas; clearly, hers and Joe Dehn's main complaint was not directed to the content of the Atlanta Charter but to the bureaucratic point that their authority was circumvented by not being invited, and not even being told about, the Atlanta meeting. A lot of typically libertarian pseudophilosophic palaver ensued between Givot and Nancy Lord's husband. Michael Tanner, and the angry critics of Atlanta: was the Atlanta meeting "secret"? What does "secret" mean? And, what's wrong with "secret" anyway? Particularly amusing was Givot's excuse for keeping the invitation or news from Gingell: to avoid compromising the impartiality of the national chairman. In other words, Mary was being kept in the dark *for her own good*; it is hard to find anyone outside of TV soap operas who will fall for *that* one, especially since Dehn and Alexander were also kept ignorant because, as friends and colleagues they would have let Gingell in on the non-secret.

The Atlanta Charter

So what is this Atlanta Charter? Most of it is the usual b.s. of people who think they have accomplished a lot by setting down a ridiculous wish list of "goals." You know the type: triple our membership, triple our funding, elect a bunch of Congressmen; seize power. In all the clutter, there are three planks of importance, planks designed to change the entire nature of the Libertarian Party. Least important is a resurrection of the old idea of a "Shadow Cabinet" that would "comment regularly on current issues." The Shadow Cabinet, of course, is taken from British practice. The problem is that the Conservative or Labor shadows are people of some stature, who are equipped to actually take charge of their respective departments in the immediate future. Who in blazes would pay attention to a Shadow Cabinet of Libertarian bozos who know nothing about any field, much less their Shadow Department, who have no stature in the country, and whose only ability is to intone a few libertarian slogans? Also it would be an odd spectacle to consult a Shadow Libertarian about a department that the Libertarian is allegedly pledged to abolish: it would be amusing, I'm sure, for some reporter to interview the Shadow Chief Narc or the Shadow head of the IRS. Dream on, guys!

More important is the Atlanta program of abolishing the "oath" of non-initiation of force that every LP member affirms when he pays his dues to the party. The Atlantacoids wail that the oath (actually an affirmation) is "restrictive," that it discourages people from joining the LP. That's a strange argument, since the affirmation was put in in the first place to assuage the possible fears of the American electorate that Libertarians are a bunch of bomb-throwing anarchists, fears that would be allayed by the non-initiation-of-coercion pledge. Besides, especially since the logical implications of the pledge are not spelled out,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who in their right amount would object to signing a statement which says that you are not a terrorist?

Reading more closely in the Atlantacoid writings, however, it is clear that their real purpose in eliminating the oath is obtaining the ability to inflate, i.e. lie about, the number of "members" of the LP. "Members", both of the LP and of any other party, means, in plain English, dues-paying members. In the Democratic and Republican parties, those who join local party clubs. But Givot & Co. want to be able to include as "members" all those who *register* in the LP, especially the many thousands in California. And of course, since LP registrants have not signed the "oath," they now cannot be listed as "members." And so this radical change is to be made solely so that Givot or someone else can, with a straight face, tell the media: "why we have 80,000 members" (or whatever the figure is) instead of the few thousand the LP actually has. This should be called the "lying to the media" plank; I doubt seriously whether anyone, after seeing LP klutzes in action over the years, can ever consider them a terrorist threat, even if the oath were removed.

Dumping the Platform

This brings us to by far the most important proposal of the Atlanta Charter cabal: the abolition of the Platform. The platform emerged as a unique process and institution: for various institutional reasons, every two years the top intellectuals and theoreticians in the LP would be elected to the Platform Committee, and they would add and update planks to what amounted to a permanent platform, a honed compendium of libertarian principle as applied to every facet of American politics.

Because it is a radical and consistent expression of libertarian principle, the Platform has always been a bone in the throat to what might kindly be called the "pragmatists" (read "sellouts") in the Libertarian Party. Ever since he entered the LP, Steve Givot has been maneuvering to try to deep-six the Platform. His first step was to win agreement for a short Program, which would deal with direct issues of the day, and which would be used instead of the platform by candidates in that election campaign. But the Program fizzled, and no one paid attention to it, and so Givot used the disarray of the party after the 1992 election to try a bold coup to wipe out the platform altogether.

The contention is that the platform, by being uncompromisingly radical, loses a lot of votes.

The contention, of course, is that the platform, by being uncompromisingly radical, loses a lot of votes for the LP. Why shucks, if not for that accursed and embarrassing platform, goes the contention, the LP would have swept to victory long since.

Now it is true that some of the LP platform planks, the result of Modal bizarreries, are a standing embarrassment: in particular, the "children's rights" planks, which pave the way for legalized child molesting, as well as for Hillaryite State control of the family. But these particular planks can always be changed.

More importantly, the Givotian plan is to hide libertarian principles in the closet, and to pass a short-run platform that will attract the masses by . . . sounding just like Republicans! And indeed, Givot's partner in the Atlanta cabal, Nancy Lord, explicitly favors: (a) anti-discrimination laws, and (b) retaining the welfare state! So, if they scrap that shocking and lovely platform, that commitment, e.g. to abolishing the income tax and eliminating the Federal Reserve, and if then they sound just like neoconservatives, or Bushies, or Republicans in general, why in blazes should *anyone*, libertarian or moderate, vote for the LP? And *a fortiori*, why should anyone join the LP or donate funds to it?

One problem, of course, with this closet strategy, is that the dread Platform has been out there for a long time. So what is to prevent the enemies of the LP, after it has scrapped its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Platform, from reviving it as enterprising journalists or politicians, and say: Hey, we know these guys, these are the guys hiding their *real* platform, which is: to abolish the income tax, or to promote child molesting, or whatever?

But there is something more important than this embarrassment. Shorn of libertarian principle, why should anyone have anything to do with the LP? Look at it this way: you, as activist, or donor, or voter, are confronted with two choices: a major party, with a good chance of winning, promoting Republican policies (the Republican Party), and a crazy little party, that no one has ever heard of, *also* promising to act like Republicans (the Libertarian Party). Given those options, which party would *you* choose? The Givot-Lord-Georgia LP-Alabama LP clique, the Atlanticoids, are trying to dump radicalism in the name of pragmatism and realism. But they are the worst losers of them all, because there is no point to "pragmatism" when you are inevitably destined to lose.

To sum up: the point of a third party is to be ideological, to hold aloft the banner of principle, and to let the nation in on a new, untried and unsung political alternative. The major parties (Democrat or Republican) are broader coalitions, arenas where there can and will be battles over principle, but which will inevitably wind up as a more or less fuzzy coalition. If a minor party is not ideological, it has no point and no audience. It has committed hara-kiri.

So, if Givot, Lord & Co., want to be real-world politicos, why don't they just join the Republican Party? Perhaps the anti-Atlanticos in the party will put this question to them. Or perhaps not. Of the critics on the NatCom only Steve Alexander seems to be taking a stand on principle, rather than on bureaucratic jealousy. In protest, Alexander resigned from the NatCom. Perhaps, by the time this donnybrook is over, the whole gang will resign and join the mighty exodus of the last decade.

Feeling Welcome in the Quadrant

There is another plank in the Atlanta Charter which may or many not prove significant, if anyone can make sense out of it. In full: "All libertarians should feel equally welcome in the LP. No point within the libertarian quadrant should be considered inferior to any other." Huh?? The "quadrant" takes seriously the crackpot Nolan/Fritz chart, which, by pure geometry, concludes that one-fourth of the population are "libertarian." They should live so long.

But what does this gibberish *mean*? The best I can figure is that all libertarians should be nice to each other, and make everyone else feel welcome. Yeah. That'll be the day.

Look, for example, what happened to Roger Lea MacBride and Mike Holmes, two distinguished leaders of the Republican Libertarian Caucus, both former top leaders in the Libertarian Party and MacBride its first nationwide presidential candidate. MacBride and Holmes requested time at the LP NatCom meeting at Las Vegas to present a case for good will and dialogue between the RLC and LP. How were these "libertarian quadrant" leaders treated? Were they made to feel welcome?

Fat chance. They were scorned, reviled, insulted, and at first not allowed to speak, their worst treatment coming at the hands of the Givotniks, they who are the loudly proclaimed champions of the "quadrant" welcome-wagon. And, during the question period after their brief talk, they were denounced, accused of "stealing" an LP student chapter in Florida, etc. The LP leadership is devoid of the most elemental courtesy or civilized behavior. For the LP "welcomers," it's bare knuckle treatment at all times. In their electronic interchanges, Gingell and her allies openly refer to Givot, who was in on these exchanges, as an "attack dog." No one knowing Steve Givot would balk at such a characterization, but it is hardly the way in which this shrinking little collection of misfits is going to march out and embrace the Real World.

Whither the LP?

All this is leading up to a mighty explosion next fall in Salt Lake. The Givotniks will try to drive through the Atlanta Charter, headed by the abolition of the platform. The forces battling for principle may be expected to fight this move to the death. In addition, there should be a juicy organizational fight for leadership for the years 1993-96. Best guess is that Givot

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(or perhaps a Givotian stooge such as Steve Dasbach, postman from Indiana) will run for national chair, preparatory for a drive for Nancy Lord for President in '96. (Only in the Libertarian Party does a rotten race by a presidential ticket automatically set up the failed Vice-President for a promotion four years hence.) The opposition will coalesce either around Mary Gingell for reelection, or for one of her henchpeople to succeed her. Other factions may well surface. A combination of ideological split and personal enmity should set up conditions for a doozy of a schism after Salt Lake, with the losers walking out, and the Party shattering to smithereens.

The crazy thing is that, if he wanted to, the scam artist Andre Marrou could come roaring back to Take It All. For even though all the party elite are thoroughly disillusioned with Andre, the news about Andre was carefully kept from the party rank-and-file, who may still be walking around worshiping Andre and blaming the electoral disaster on Perot. But Andre, for some reason best known to himself, saved the bacon of the various elite factions by announcing shortly after Election Day, his permanent retirement from the LP political scene. It is reported that, on hearing the news at a Farewell-to-Andre dinner, Steve Givot rushed to the men's room to dance a jig of joy. But Steve may have celebrated too soon. Andre, after all, is a shrewd cookie to have come all this way on nothing but hot air. Maybe he's leaving because as a keen scamster-entrepreneur, he realizes before the other that the Party's over, that the members and donors have been picked clean, and that the time has come to follow the Indian hustler Russell Means into other and greener pastures. Maybe some day the rest of the party will absorb the same lesson. ■

John Silber: Doing Well Doing Neocon Good

By M.N.R.

Neocons, armed with lots of foundation money and media support, keep four favorite politicians in their stable. Three are the stiff, droning Jack Kemp; the thuggish Bill Bennett; and the airhead Danny Quayle. Perhaps the least prepossessing of this grisly crew is dour, prickly John Silber, president of Boston University [BU]. Silber, who has been riding herd on Boston University for over two decades, was the Democratic nominee for governor of Massachusetts in 1990, losing to William Weld, now the darling of the Republican Left and, as a biggie in the new Kempian front, Empower America, presumably in the Kemp camp for 1996. (Those neocons will get you coming or going.) Silber, gearing up for a rerun in 1994 (you can't keep a bad man down!), is being rocked by a series of charges and disclosures in the Boston press (in the conservative *Boston Herald* as well the left-liberal *Boston Globe*). If luck is with us, these charges will serve as a successful preemptive strike against a Silber redux in Massachusetts politics.

In the first place, unlike most academics, Silber has been making out like a bandit at BU, although, as the *New York Times* (Feb. 9) coyly adds, the "news articles have produced no clear evidence of illegality by Dr. Silber." Thus, Silber earned a total in 1991 of $414,715 in salary and bonuses from this nonprofit institution of higher learning. And that's only the *cash* payout. For over the years, BU has granted him $638,000 in "loans" at little or no interest, including an interest-free loan of $138,921 to buy a posh residence from the university itself at below-market cost. In addition to this "loan"-purchase, Silber lives in yet another university-owned mansion, and enjoys the services of a BU-supplied car and chauffeur. On top of all that, every five years BU grants Dr. Silber a year's extra salary, as an alleged "leave benefit" or sabbatical, although Silber never actually took a leave until six years ago.

But Silber profited in still other ways from his university post. BU granted Silber permission to acquire stock options in Seradyn, Inc., a medical research company owned by the university. Some records seem to show that BU subsequently loaned Silber the money to buy Seradyn stock, upon which he made a profit of $386,700 in 1989. Silber, however, denies borrowing the money or buying the stock.

More damaging to John Silber's reputation is a considerable

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

amount of what looks like hanky-panky with BU's trustees. Economic theory tells us that, in a non-profit organization lacking owners or stockholders, the organization's revenue will tend to be siphoned off in uneconomic and quasi-crooked ways to the managers and trustees. Since trustees and managers own no capital and can make no profits, they don't have to worry about maximizing profits; they enjoy a very wide zone for inefficiency and hanky-panky which cannot exist in profit-making firms. The non-profit outfit need not even care much about losses, short of bankruptcy, and even bankruptcy doesn't affect the trustees' personal assets. When the New Left invaded the offices of Columbia University during the student riots of the late 1960s, they discovered some interesting peccadilloes by Columbia and its trustees: one trustee, a well-known building contractor, would get the contracts to construct the university's buildings, another would get the job of banker or insurer for that builder, and so on.

At Boston University, Dr. Silber seems to have showered lucrative contracts upon trustees who, in particular, are members of the five-man executive committee on compensation that votes on Silber's extravagant pay. Thus, BU paid $246,730 to a law firm headed by Edward Masterman, a member of this executive committee. In addition, Silber has asked the well-known accounting firm of Coopers & Lybrand to conduct an independent audit of all the charges against him. But the problem here is that this same firm has received more than $400,000 a year over the past several years for accounting and auditing work from the university. Furthermore, Coopers & Lybrand managing partner in Boston, Frank A. Doyle, was a fund-raiser for Silber's failed gubernatorial bid in 1990.

It is instructive to see the way in which BU spokesmen reply to these damning conflict-of-interest charges. After first pointing out that the university has a "strict conflict-of-interest policy," they say, about Coopers & Lybrand, "When you hire them, you are buying their independence." Huh? Eh, what? As for Frank Doyle and his fund-raising effort, says BU, "An individual is free to exercise his right to support a candidate." Well sure, but so what?

As for conflict-of-interest charges and the powerful trustees, BU doubletalk continues: "We recruit trustees precisely because they are leaders in their professions, and so on occasion we do use law firms that have members who are on the board of trustees." Yea, sure.

The political pot is boiling in Massachusetts, and John Silber may get singed.

Dr. Silber and Boston University are now undergoing a continuing investigation by the Massachusetts Attorney-General's office. Complicating the issue is the fact that the Attorney-General, L. Scott Harshbarger, is not only himself an adjunct professor of law at BU, but may also run against Silber for the Democratic nomination for governor next year.

Regardless of the outcome of this investigation, the political pot is boiling in Massachusetts, and John Silber may get singed. As the Zoe Baird caper demonstrated, you don't have to be actually indicted to become a political has-been. ■

Race and Reality

by Samuel Francis

About ten years ago, I recall, I had a conversation with a friend of mine, a prominent conservative journalist and editor, who told me he believed the United States had essentially solved its racial problems. The dislocations caused by the civil rights movement, the black nationalism of the 1960s, and the riots of that era were over, he argued, and now all that remained was for blacks to scamper up the ladder of economic and political opportunity. The welfare state and liberal civil rights policies, he thought, were the principal obstacles preventing blacks from making the ascent.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I didn't argue with my friend, except to say that I completely disagreed with him, that I believed the country's racial problems were only just beginning and that they would be exacerbated not only by continuing black disappointments but also by the massive immigration, legal and illegal, that was just then coming to public notice. I haven't talked to him about the subject of race since that time, and nowadays it might be too embarrassing to bring it up at all. Nevertheless, embarrassing or not, race is a subject that needs to be brought up and indeed actually thought about in ways that few conservatives and no liberals at all have yet been willing to do.

Race is a subject that needs to be brought up and indeed actually thought about.

Ten years after that conversation, it ought to be obvious that my friend was wrong, and every newspaper and every local news report today offers evidence of his error. Not only has the United States failed to solve its racial problems but race remains the major problem, and the root of other major problems, in the country today, and it shows no signs whatsoever of being solved.

The overwhelming statistics on black illiteracy, educational failure, poverty, unemployment, welfare, crime, family and neighborhood collapse, political incompetence and corruption, drug use, AIDS and other chronic diseases, and, not least, the emergence of an embittered and increasingly violent black racial consciousness that preaches explicit hatred of whites, Jews, and Asians all confirm my friend's total misperception of what was occurring even as we talked. But of course it was not his error alone; it was the mistake of an entire generation of Americans who lived through the civil rights movement and desperately grasped at its central premise as the only palatable concept by which the United States could resolve the emerging racial crisis.

That concept was the idea of the inherent equality of the races, and if we have learned anything in the last 30 years, it is that racial equality has all the scientific reliability of the theories of the flat earth and the four elements.

In the 1960s, when Jim Crow still fluttered, it was arguable that the races were indeed equal in intelligence and other socially significant mental and behavioral attributes. It was arguable simply because it was an idea that had never been fully tested, though there was already a substantial body of evidence to show that the idea of racial equality was no less a concoction of pseudo-science than palmistry and the analysis of human character by inspection of bumps on the cranium.

Nevertheless, racial egalitarianism and its environmentalist assumptions about human nature were formulas that served the interests of the country's dominant cultural and political forces. Such doctrines afforded a convenient rationale for creating and managing social engineering programs that placed vast amounts of public money and power in their hands for the ostensible goal of social improvement and therapy. Most Americans, well insulated from the immediate consequences of the experiment in equality, were ready to give it a whirl, or at least to oblige white Southerners to give it a whirl. That the myth of equality would soon be swallowing them in a typhoon of social and political delusion from which they would be unable to escape did not seem to occur to anyone except a few bigots and Bourbon politicos.

Today, with the evidence of black social and economic catastrophe all about them, little else does occur to an increasing number of whites, who have long since abandoned the cities, neighborhoods, urban schools, and most other locations where they or their families are likely to run into blacks for any extended period of time. But not only the experience of black failure discredits the myth of equality; an overwhelming amount of scientific evidence has accumulated in the last generation to explode the myth once and for all.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The general conclusion of this body of evidence is that the average score of blacks on I.Q. tests is about 15 to 18 points less than that of whites, that only about 16% of blacks have I.Q.'s above 100 (considered "normal") and only about 3% have I.Q.'s above 115 (usually considered the minimum for graduation from an accredited four-year college with grades acceptable for graduate work), that whites are six to eight times more likely to have scores above 135 and that blacks are equally more likely to score around 70 (considered "retarded), while at the so-called "genius" level of 140 or above, there are hardly any blacks at all.

No one denies that this breakdown by race on I.Q. tests actually exists; what environmentalist critics challenge is the meaning of the tests. They argue the tests are "culturally biased" to reflect the learned skills, values, and ideas of a white-dominated society and that blacks do poorly on the tests because they are victims of oppression, bad education, lack of opportunities, or growing up in a subculture that does not socialize its members in the ways of the dominant culture.

The main problem with such arguments is that when the I.Q. tests are corrected for "cultural bias" (for example, by using tests such as Raven's Progressive Matrices, which contain no verbal or cultural content and rely on recognition of various geometrical patterns), blacks score even lower than they do on tests supposedly steeped in "bias." Moreover, other non-whites from certain foreign, alien, or exotic subcultures (e.g., Asians) have no problem scoring as well as or better than whites on the tests and certainly better than American blacks.

Finally, it is not only I.Q. tests on which blacks score poorly; they also perform badly on almost all the standardized tests by which educational and professional aptitudes are currently measured in the United States—the Scholastic Aptitude Test, the Law School Aptitude Test, the Medical College Admissions Test, the Graduate Record Examination, etc.—and if there is one point of agreement among scientists and educators about I.Q. tests in general, it is that their results do offer reliable predictions of how those who take them will perform in school and professional life.

Those who make high scores on I.Q. tests can be predicted to make high grades in school.

Those who make high scores on I.Q. tests can be predicted to make high grades in school and to perform professional jobs well; those who don't do well on I.Q. tests can be predicted not to make good grades and not to do so well in their careers.

The critique of I.Q. testing might be more credible if the actual performance of blacks were at odds with their test scores. Unfortunately, almost everything blacks as a group do seems to be consistent with what we would expect of people with lower intelligence, namely the economically unproductive, educationally miserable, criminally violent, and socially destructive behavior that greets Americans every morning in the news and which has recently been collected in book form by Jared Taylor in his shattering *Paved With Good Intentions*. Nor is black behavior in other countries much better. Ethiopia and Somalia, Uganda and Liberia, Haiti and Jamaica all exhibit recurrent patterns of impoverishment, political chaos, tyranny, corruption, and backwardness that do nothing to challenge the conclusions that intelligence testing and other scientific evidence of inherent racial differences reveal.

Quite separate from the evidence offered by mental testing, other studies of the inheritability of intelligence show all but conclusively that a large part of what we call "intelligence" is genetically based—60 to 80%, in the estimates of the most authoritative experts—and psychologist Arthur Jensen, the best known and probably the most respected of the hereditarians, stated in a recent interview in the August 1992 issue of the newsletter *American Renaissance* that "there's no question that the preponderance of the variance

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in intelligence. . . is attributable to the genetic variance."

As a layman, I am not in a position to pronounce definitively on this body of evidence, but from what I know of it and of the responses to it by the exponents of environmentalism, I have to conclude that the hereditarian side has much the better of the argument, that there are indeed inherent, genetically based differences between the white and black races in intelligence and perhaps in other socially significant psychological and behavioral traits.

If there is still a case to be made for the alternative, environmentalist thesis, let's hear it; otherwise, let's go with the evidence we have, which is what we normally do in every other scientific controversy, from disputes over the Big Bang theory in astrophysics to the causes of mumps and measles.

The more important question, however, is not whether the available scientific evidence is valid or not but what does "going with" that evidence involve? It is at that point that the controversy gets sticky, though there's really little reason for it.

The conventional implication that is drawn from the evidence of racial differences is that the evidence justifies racial discrimination in one legal or political form or another. Indeed, this implication was in fact drawn by the defenders of segregation, and the fear of it is no doubt the main reason why opponents of segregation and other kinds of racial subordination have so often refused to discuss or take seriously the hereditarian argument and not infrequently have resorted to outright repression and intimidation of those who do discuss it. Yet the fact is that no such implications can be validly drawn from the scientific evidence about race.

Racial segregation in American education and in the South long predated the availability of reliable I.Q. testing, and Jim Crow codes were largely political reactions to the repression and misrule of Reconstruction rather than applications of racial theory and Social Darwinism. Indeed, one of the most outspoken scientific critics of Darwin's theory of evolution in the 19th century, the Swiss naturalist Louis Agassiz, who taught at Harvard even as Northern armies were ending slavery in the South, was also one of the leading Negrophobes and racists in American history.

Moreover, racial differences in I.Q. simply do not justify racial segregation in schools; certainly their implication is not the "separate and equal" schools of the 1896 Plessy vs. Ferguson decision that segregationists defended against the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education ruling. If racial differences in intelligence are valid and if they implied any educational segregation by race at all, then they would imply *unequal* though not necessarily separate educational facilities for the two races.

Yet racial disparities in I.Q. do not necessarily imply any such racial segregation; they might imply separation of students by I.Q., and for all practical purposes that would encompass racial segregation within a school, though there would still be a sufficient number of black students whose I.Q.s are commensurate with those of whites to make complete racial segregation of education impossible.

Nor do differences in I.Q. have anything to do with other forms of segregation—in public accommodations, water fountains, conveyances, etc. People regularly eat or share public space with obviously retarded persons whose I.Q.'s are considerably lower than those of most blacks, and I have yet to hear of anyone who objected to such integration of the subnormal into the commonplace institutions of social life.

As a matter of fact, if the biological and psychological inequality of human beings has little to do with racial segregation, neither does the principle of equal rights have much to do with the myth of racial equality. The principle of equal rights is a convenient public fiction by which human social and political relationships can be regulated, and its usefulness is entirely independent of the dubious claims for the equality of natural endowments that egalitarians espouse.

The Constitution, for example, employs the principle of equal rights for states when it establishes equal representation of states in the U.S. Senate. New York and Wyoming each have two votes in the Senate. In that juridical and political sense they are equal, and each state enjoys the same rights as every other state (with the exception of Southern states under the Voting Rights Act). But it would occur to no one planning

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a business venture, buying a home, or trying to raise a family in one state or the other to think that the two states really are equal in fact.

The principle of equal rights for citizens was recognized in the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which simply confirmed that former slaves possessed the legal capacity to carry out those civil functions that are inseparable from being free and independent—namely, the ability to make contracts, buy and sell property, sue and be sued, etc.

Not until the civil rights revolution of the 1960s did such legislation as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 actually proceed to join and confuse the useful public fiction of equal rights with the outright lie of equal people, and by doing so it converted the legitimate principle of equal rights into the ideological sledgehammer of egalitarianism. Having adopted laws that assume that human beings really are equal, the federal government was then compelled to sally forth on a crusade against those social manifestations of the reality of human inequality.

The resulting war against "discrimination" is thus actually a war against those institutions of civil society such as property, patterns of association, education, and employment that naturally reflect inequality and differentiation, for the purpose of forcing human and social reality into conformity with the fictitious equality of human beings.

By importing egalitarianism into the principle of equal rights, civil rights law and policy essentially committed the federal government to perpetual conflict with American society and its members, and the commitment to the illusion of equality in the civil rights acts of the 1960s quickly led to the whole apparatus of affirmative action, quotas, set-asides, enterprise zones, and egalitarian experimentation that afflicts us today.

Civil rights confused the useful public fiction of equal rights with the outright lie of equal people.

If the races really are equal, then their apparent inequality in employment, education, etc. must be due to discrimination, and if the state is committed to rooting out such artificial and unjust discrimination, then the apparatus of affirmative action is perfectly logical. Those, whether conservative or liberal, who reject the inheritability of intelligence must accept an environmentalist explanation for racial differences in I.Q. or reject the validity of I.Q. testing *in toto*. If they accept environmentalist explanations for racial differences, then the crusade against inequality appears to follow.

Whether the races are or are not equal or naturally different in their endowments, then, has nothing to do with the legal and political recognition of equal rights, which do not depend on natural endowments, and the acceptance of natural racial differences implies no legal or political discrimination of one race against another. But the falsity of racial egalitarianism does carry socially significant implications nonetheless. In the first place, the natural differentiation of the races in intellectual capacities implies that of the two major races in the United States today, only one possesses the inherent capacity to create and sustain the level of civilization that has historically characterized its homelands in Europe and America. Awareness of the dependence of Euro-American civilization on the people that created it thus implies that the survival of that people is essential to the survival of the civilization itself.

And secondly, the recognition of racial realities implies that most of the efforts now deployed to combat racism, fight insensitivity, celebrate diversity, eradicate prejudice, and impose racial equality are misplaced, based on a profound misconception of racial capacities and directed toward goals that are neither just to either race nor attainable without the perpetuation of serious injustice to both. Those policies and laws are the fruit of a discredited egalitarian mythology that animates the federal leviathan's perpetual war against civil society and debilitates white resistance to the gathering storm of racial revolution

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the enemies, white and non-white, of the white race and its civilization now openly preach and prepare.

The sooner we recognize the truth about race, bring to an end the war for equality that the big lies about race engender, and learn to live with the real nature blacks and whites possess, the sooner we will address the real reasons America has failed to solve its racial problems, and the better off both races will be for doing so. ■

Dr. Francis is a syndicated columnist.

Unions Are Back

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

The decline in union power and membership was one of the great achievements of the 1980s. Through both structural changes in the economy and Republican policies, we eliminated some union privileges. Now the Clinton administration has started reversing these gains.

First, Bill Clinton and his labor secretary Robert B. Reich will allow members of PATCO, the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization, to go to work for the government again, despite their illegal strike. (Ronald Reagan's had courageously fired the strikers, just as the law provides, and forbade them to take any other jobs on the federal payroll.)

Second, Clinton reversed the Bush administration's enforcement of the Supreme Court's Beck decision, which allowed workers to block illegal spending of union dues on (inevitably liberal) political action without the workers' consent.

Clinton called Bush's action "distinctly anti-union," when it was actually pro-worker, unless the worker wanted his hard-earned money spent by union bosses on the likes of Clinton.

Third, Clinton reversed a recent Bush administration ban on government contracts for closed-shop companies. Closed shops, which prevent the employment of non-union members (85% of the labor force), are bad economically and socially. They promote featherbedding and above-market wages, and in this case, will mean spending more taxpayer dollars on the most inefficient firms.

This order was issued as the administration plans its $20-30 billion "stimulus." This money will be spent on highways, bridges, and that like, and unionized companies will get the inside track.

Clinton, moreover, intends to index the minimum wage with inflation. Outlawing employment below a government-set level is not exactly what the economy needs, and a rising minimum wage will insure that marginal workers are permanently locked out of the job market. Unions, which want to increase their own incomes by outlawing competition in this way, have advocated this policy for years.

If, as a result of the Clinton administration's bias towards big labor, unions stage a comeback, it's easy to see who will benefit. But who will suffer? The non-union employees, who see their paychecks cut and job opportunities restricted as a result.

Contrary to myth, labor unions don't represent the American worker. Even at their pick in 1953, they only included 25% of the workforce (understandable, since they exist to enrich their members at the expense of other workers). But since 1980, we have seen unionmembership declines from more than 20% to about 15%. Without Clinton, membership could fall below 10%. Even today, membership is concentrated in public transportation and government.

That's why the political power of unions is out of all proportion to their membership. But bolstered by labor legislation based on Mussolini's Italy, unions wield much power on Capitol Hill, in part through heavy spending.

Liberal think tanks also benefit from union donations, including the Economic Policy Institute, whose positions are identical to the unions'.

It is distressing, if hardly surprising, that Clinton put a longtime associate of the Economic Policy Institute and a beneficiary of union largess, Robert Reich, in charge of labor policy. We can therefore expect a blizzard of pro-union regulations, no matter what damage they do to the economy.

The changes already instituted by Clinton and Reich will do much damage. As the private-sector unions have declined, the government unions have skyrocketed, from 11% of employees in the 1960s to 37% today.

That's why allowing PATCO members to rejoin the federal government sends a very bad

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

signal. Now government workers know that Reagan's replacement of the striking controllers, and dissolution of the union, will never be repeated under Clinton, no matter what. The next federal strike won't be broken up in any sense, despite what the Civil Service Reform Act of 1979 says. More of your money will solve the dispute, which will inevitably be in an area that affects the public. Unfortunately, we can't look forward to a strike at the Department of Labor.

If Clinton wanted to improve the labor market, create jobs, and make the economy boom, he could read *Out of Work* (Independent Institute-Holmes & Meier, 1993) by Ohio University labor economists Richard Vedder and Lowell Gallaway. They demonstrate, in irrefutable fashion, just how damaging government intervention is in this area, and how it's making us all poorer—except the government and the unions.

There is one thing the administration hasn't counted on, however. Unions no longer have the unqualified sympathy of the American people. These days, the public is far more likely to view them as extortion rackets than vanguards of an exploited working class. Clinton will make his payoffs, but they may come out of his political capital. ■

Kingonomics

by L.H.R., Jr.

All through his life, Martin Luther King, Jr., called on us to "question the capitalistic economy." He wanted us to ask, for example, "Why is it that people have to pay water bills in a world that is two-thirds water?"

Of course, we have to pay for water for the same reason we have to pay for anything valuable except air. Fresh, clean water is scarce, and the price system—distorted as it may be by municipalities—helps ensure that it will not be squandered.

But King called the price system a form of "violence" that was responsible for blacks paying "higher consumer prices" than whites. "Do you know," he asked, "that a can of beans almost always costs a few cents more in grocery chain stores located in the Negro ghetto than in a store of that same chain located in the upper-middle-class suburbs?"

Are we supposed to think that suburban businessmen are less anxious to make money than inner-city ones? In a free market, prices are not set by store owners, but by consumers when they buy, or don't buy, a particular product. If store owners set prices too high, even by a few cents, competitors will profit by undercutting them.

The trouble in black neighborhoods is not the "cutthroat competition" that King denounced, but the lack of it. For example, Asian businessmen are often greeted with hostility.

To King, capitalism was a system that took "necessities" from "the many to give luxuries to the few," under the "profit

Quotes That Need No Comment

"German Police in Sweeping Crackdown on Right-Wing Rock Music" — *NY Times* headline.

"I have no respect for intellectuals. They create problems by giving dirty opinions. I am a man of the masses." — Bal Thackery, leader of the militant Hindu movement, Shiv Sena.

"I think women are getting tiresome." — Julia Child, on complaints that not enough women were invited to her 80th birthday dinner in Los Angeles celebrating French food.

"Among [Zoe Baird's] talents, she seemed to have a flawless ability to position herself as a protegee. 'Zoe's a superb networker, able to gain the confidence of important older men, from Lloyd Cutler to Bill Coleman to Warren Christopher to Vernon Jordan to Bill Clinton,' one of her former law-firm colleagues observed. 'She does it studiously. She works very hard at it.' And a friend said, 'She gives good daughter.'" — Sidney Blumenthal, *The New Yorker*.

"I think racism is created by the press..., that it isn't really there." — Marge Schott

"I don't think the word *Jap* is offensive in Japan. But...I'm trying very hard to keep saying *Japanese, Japanese*." — Marge Schott

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

motive" (as opposed to the government's loss motive).

The profit motive ensures that resources are not systematically wasted, as under the political motive, and that innovation, entrepreneurship, and hard work are rewarded. Surely this, rather than the socialist reverse, is the moral system.

"When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered," said King.

The "giant triplets" sounds like a great B movie, but there are enough false dichotomies in that sentence for a Clinton speech. Suffice it to say that it is people who build and use machines and computers, which have much improved people's lives; that property rights are the most important people's right, with their absence leading to economic chaos; and that there's nothing wrong with people desiring material improvements in their lives.

King blamed the capitalist entrepreneur for "thousands of working people displaced from their jobs with reduced incomes as a result of automation while the profits of the employers remain intact." And the "individual capitalists of the West" also invest "huge sums of money in Asia, Africa, and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries."

But King was advancing a left-wing myth. Foreign investment in the third world has put bread on the tables of millions. That is real "social betterment." And automation raises standards of living.

Electric clothes washers save homemakers much hard labor, and "cost" the jobs of laundry workers, but so what? Housewives, and society as a whole, are much better off. And laundry workers can get other jobs.

The profit motive ensures that resources are not systematically wasted, as under the political motive.

But instead of free labor markets, King wanted job quotas: "If a city has a 30% Negro population, then it is logical to assume that Negroes should have at least 30% of the jobs in any particular company, and jobs in all categories rather than only in menial areas." To bring this about, he advocated "preferential treatment"—a racial test for hiring, firing, promotion, and all other personnel decisions.

The government should also, said King, provide a "minimum—and *livable*—income for every American family" as part of a "radical reconstruction of society itself," including massive compensation "for the two centuries the Negro was enslaved" (and in setting the amount, we should realize that "all of America's wealth today could not adequately compensate its Negroes").

But the slaveowners—and the slaves—are long dead. How can we tax the innocent to salve the unvictimized? And what good can come of looting some families, skimming the cash in D.C., and then bestowing what's left on other families? Welfare makes the economy less efficient, the recipients less independent, the taxed less productive, and the government bigger.

But King wanted a *much* bigger government. According to David Garrow, author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Bearing the Cross*, King made it "clear to close friends" that "he considered himself" a "Marxist." ■

P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

An Asian Rebel

"The canceling of Auburn's Old South parade by the Kappa Alpha Order is just one more case of great traditions being thrown away to keep some liberals from being offended," wrote Shiu Li Feng to Auburn University's student newspaper, *The Plainsman*, on February 4, 1993.

"The Kappa Alphas should realize that these groups will be offended at anything that does not meet their left-wing politically correct agenda.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Perhaps because I am an immigrant, I can see Southern culture with an unbiased eye. Although liberal special interests and so-called civil rights groups continually scream about racism, the facts show that they are the real bigots.

"In the six years I've been in the United States, the only time I've been subjected to bigotry from whites is from liberal democrat labor union types who blame us Asians for every economic woe. However, I am continually subjected to hate from blacks because I am an 'Oriental.'

"Real racism is when black rioters attacked and burned Korean businesses simply because they were Asian-owned. Perhaps if they would get off welfare and get a job, they wouldn't have time to riot and loot.

"I have lived in different parts of the United States since I came here, and no place is warmer or more open than the South. I hope Alabamians will not abandon their proud Confederate heritage to the liberal bigots who would destroy every symbol of our state's history."

Your Casa or Mine?

In a recent column, Bill Buckley praised Michael Medved's defense of the old Hollywood, and specifically *Casablanca*. But this war propaganda movie—with great actors but lousy production values—glorified adultery.

Hollywood has been subverting American morals for more than 70 years. Yes, movies like *Casablanca* aren't as bad as the latest releases, but they paved the way for them. It makes no more sense to praise *Casablanca* for being less explicit than today's films, than it does to praise the New Deal for having a smaller budget than the New Covenant.

Boogied

During the inaugural festivities, Chelsea Clinton and her friends, reported the *Washington Post* (1/20/93), "settled into the VIP section of an entertainment tent featuring female rap stars Salt-n-Pepa." The 12-year-old "Chelsea and her pals rushed toward the front and boogied down when Salt-n-Pepa broke into 'Let's Talk About Sex,'" their million-selling endorsement of condoms. Chelsea's favorite group, says the *Post*, is the even lewder male rappers, Boyz II Men.

Polly Wanna Trouble?

Wisconsin black state rep Polly Williams was the toast of the neocons and left-libertarians because she endorses school choice welfare, whereby taxpayers are mulcted of even more funds so that welfare recipients can attend private schools. But she hasn't been mentioned recently. Could it be because of her *Washington Times* article (1/19/93), in which she criticizes "political integration" and praises "racially concentrated neighborhoods," and schools based on them, as better for both races?

Marion Barry Is Back!

The former mayor of Washington, D.C. (and cokehead and lecher), Marion Barry, was back in the news, but not in our nation's capital. The *New York Times*, however, reported (1/7/93) that Barry's car was stolen by a "National Youth Hero."

The young man, named a hero in 1986 for gospel singing by Ronald Reagan, took Barry's keys out of his coat pocket in the city council chambers, where Barry now serves, and stole his car, a $25,000 "gift from supporters when he left office" in January 1991.

The thief, who had been a prominent helper at Barry campaign events, was caught and arrested for smoking "cigarettes laced with cocaine" as well as the "unauthorized use of a motor vehicle, a count that the police said was equivalent to auto theft." But it is not; in fact, the charge is suggestive.

"I don't know him," said Barry. But given his former honor's habits, could the kid have been a supplier who wasn't paid, and took the car instead?

An NC-17 Audience

Forget Camilla Parker Bowles. The Prince Charles Theater in London has installed "love seats, complete with condoms, for romance." Says the owner, according to the London *Guardian* (1/15/93), "Fifty percent of people who go to the cinema are out on a date, so I decided to make it easier for them."

The *Times* on Adoption

"An Adoption Program That Seeks To Avoid the Slaughterhouse"—that was the startling headline in the *New York Times*, of all places, on December 27, 1992. The *Times* pro-life? Well, yes—for wild horses.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hanging

Forget the electric chair, the gas chamber, and all other progressivist death penalty methods like lethal injection. Hanging is cheap, effective, quick, and traditional—the Old Republic.

Before child murderer Westley Allan Dodd was executed on January 5, 1993, anti-capital punishment groups had hoped that his choice of hanging would advance their cause, since it was so "barbaric" (unlike raping and murdering three little boys).

"Hey, if you are going to be executed, hanging is the way to go."

The state of Washington hadn't hanged anyone in so long that it had to use a 19th-century Army manual, but unlike other forms of capital punishment, it was almost instantaneous, snapping Dodd's neck.

Said Darrell Lee, Dodd's lawyer, to a horrified National Public Radio reporter: "Hey, if you are going to be executed, hanging is the way to go."

The Bunny Hutch

Last year, in discussing why he wouldn't hire adulterers if he were elected, Ross Perot's said, "if you're spending your days planning your nights, you can't serve the people." Could this explain the Clinton White House? Clinton's major activity is screwing. That's also the major activity of some of his major advisors, sometimes with him. Aside from moral questions, the promiscuous think of little else. Thus, perhaps, the sense that no one is in charge. Ah yes, baby boomers.

For example, did Clinton's interview with beauteous Judge (and ex-Playboy Bunny) Kimba Wood include more than talking? She's his type. Could this explain the heated charges of betrayal?

Where's Hillary in all this? She was recently overheard (by the *Washington Post*) telling the mannish Marian Wright Edelman, "I love you very much."

Les Is Not More

Kimba Wood isn't the only Clintonite with a Playboy connection, according to Al Kamen in the *Washington Post* (2/11/93). In 1971, Defense Secretary Les Aspin posed in a Playboy fashion show along with then-Sen. John Tunney and Rep. Ron Dellums.

Is this the photo where he's "dangling a bare foot over the arm of this chair, he's got a goofy smile on his face, and he's wearing the most ridiculous suit imaginable?" asked Pentagon press secretary Vernon Guidry. Yes, Vern. "The 70s were a tough time for everyone," said Guidry. ■

Rothbard-Rockwell Report
Center for Libertarian Studies
P.O. Box 4091, Burlingame, CA 94011

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
San Francisco, CA
Permit No. 1987

Ron Unz
555 Bryant Street, #371
Palo Alto, CA 94301

The Rothbard-Rockwell Report is published by the Center for Libertarian Studies, Post Office Box 4091, Burlingame, California 94011. (800) 325-7257. *Editors:* Murray N. Rothbard and Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr. *Contributing Editor:* Sarah Barton. *Publisher:* Burton S. Blumert. *Managing Editor:* Sybil Regan. Subscription: $49 for 12 issues. Copyright ©1993 by the Center for Libertarian Studies. All rights reserved. Unauthorized reproduction of this newsletter or its contents by xerography, facsimile, or any other means is illegal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED